/680 cont./

593 admonishing him, she expects him to provide for all the needs of the family and why she maintains complete independence in all the labors that are hers by ancient custom, without letting her husband interfere. She gathers mussels or goes fishing, arranges the pelts, and sews clothing whenever the whim strikes her and she is in the mood. If her husband expresses special wishes, he knows as well as she that she is by no means bound to fulfill them and that she does so only out of love and affection.

562 593 This does not alter the fact, however, that Yamana women are ordinarily submissive and yielding. Almost never in words, but certainly in his /681/ attitude, the man, without offending, embodies a considerable preponderance of authority and power. For their part the Indian women, without losing themselves in slavish lack of will power, seem to be more willing to surrender their equality than is customary elsewhere among their sex. It is hard to say whether they are dominated by a sense of weakness or a feeling of inferiority. Outwardly, at any rate, the woman shows a subjection and subordination to her own husband which gives many European observers the impression that she is without rights and merely a weak plaything of her husband's tyranny. This impression is doubtless strengthened by the natural shyness and extraordinarily silent reserve of all Yamana women in the presence of a man (72). Hence in cases of incompatibility and

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72. This observation may have inspired Hyades (d):308 to say: "The woman submits to her husband, but provided she is faithful, he does not mistreat her" /translated from French/.

quarrels between the two there is never noise or shouting. If he should burst out with a few abusive words, she says nothing.

562 593 ●152 The excessive submissiveness of most of the women fosters among the men a consciousness of superior power not established by common law. If this is coupled with a nature given to violence and outbursts of rage among one or another of the men, the woman must occasionally expect maltreatment. In his anger, usually caused by minor incidents, he beats her with any stick or scrap of leather he happens to have at hand. She ducks or bends sideways without crying out or weeping. It is all over in a few

/681 cont./
562 minutes, but for the woman it is accompanied by several hours
593 or an entire night of suppressed pain. The deeply felt mortification
152 pains her incomparably more than the blow or beating.

An irascible and violent husband never has a good reputation,
562 even though at times he might have grounds for dissatisfaction
593 with his wife. None of my informants could remember that a
626 woman had ever suffered serious physical harm from maltreatment. Her relatives would not have let matters go so far, but would have helped her to escape before it happened. Basically, public opinion condemns any physical attack on a woman, and whenever it occurs people take a definite stand against the man or against his wife, depending on the case, in order to prevent a repetition of such quarrels.

562 In contrast, there is a considerable number of henpecked hus-
593 bands among the Yamana, according to the statements of the three Lawrence brothers. There is no exaggeration in Bridges' (i):21 words that "not a few men are domineered over by their wives" /cited in English/ (73). Walter is one of these men,

73. Fifteen years later, Bridges (h):210 repeated this sentence without changing it.

helpless in the hands of his wife. Even more, Julia is really a mannish woman, and the not very energetic Alfredo, sometimes at his wits' end, lets her have her way. In contrast to these two couples, /682/ Carmen suffers so much from the brutality and violent outbursts of Calderon that all her fellow-tribesmen pity her and sympathize with her. At present, just as in former times, an individual incident may occur in which the wife bursts out and takes violent measures against the man, without however, actually establishing petticoat domination. Lovisato (b):146 gives an example: "We have seen a wife justifiably strike her husband, without the other wives present taking her part or they themselves understanding the grave deed" /translated from Italian/. This, too, shows the occasional considerable independence and arbitrariness on the part of the wife toward her husband.

593 Aside from the above-mentioned disturbances in marital life,

/683 cont./

833 nonsense: "A man must wash himself after leaving the wigwam of his loves, because otherwise he cannot eat guanaco meat; if he does not wash himself, the dogs die" /translated from Italian/.

593 Among our Fuegians, far more than elsewhere, conjugal love
●152 assumes the form of genuine jealousy. The sharp vigilance with which a husband protected his wife at the approach of a stranger has made many a traveler of earlier times very uncomfortable, and the natives often shunned (80) his bold obtrusiveness by quick

80. This was the most frequent cause for the friction and quarrels accompanying the visit of European ships among our Indians, hence their shy reserve (p. 248 /untranslated/, p. 2).

flight. P. Snow (a):I, 149 clearly speaks of their "jealous disposition" /cited in English/, which they have retained up to the present time, some more, others less (81). It is striking that

81. Several similar opinions have been assembled by Cooper:168.

jealousy generally torments only the men, and that women, with a few exceptions, are spared it. These exceptions apply to wives of the same man. Hyades (q):239 also observed that "the woman, and above all the young woman, is so little aware of this feeling (82) that she seems very happy to see the same favors granted

82. Hyades (q):378 concedes rare exceptions, however, and realizes that "jealous women make life very disagreeable for their husbands" /translated from French/.

her friends by the man she loves" /translated from French/ (83).

83. He also emphatically denies the

/683 cont./

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•152 false assertion of a few navigators that our Fuegians had handed over their women and girls without resistance.

When there is greater inclination toward jealousy, it is without doubt "the reason for brutalities inflicted by the husband on his wife" /translated from French/. Many men are so susceptible that one cannot be careful enough in his attitude toward their wives, if he wishes to save himself unpleasantness. Outes (g): 55 reports: The men "are very jealous and an inopportune look at his wives is enough to arouse his distrust and to cause the murder of the suspect" /translated from Spanish/. It is true that the jealous husband will occasionally give vent to his rage in serious beatings, but it has never gone as far as murder, according to Fred Lawrence who corrected this report for me. The lot of a woman with a husband so unfortunately predisposed is unpleasant. She must always fear his outbursts of rage, although she herself is blameless and very careful in her conduct.

/684/ Is this pronounced jealousy among men caused by their
837 concern over marital fidelity among their wives? This may be true to a certain extent. Certainly, as a rule, the two spouses are faithful, and people without exception esteem this virtue highly. BD:267 gives hingun: "a sober, sensible and faithful wife or woman" /cited in English/. We must agree with Spegazzini (a):166, who emphasizes: "Fidelity is a carefully guarded virtue, whether out of fear of the husband who will repudiate or kill her on account of mere suspicion or because of natural habit /translated from Spanish/ (84). Although fidelity is esteemed in public

84. On July 27, 1872, Bridges (i):18 entered the following in his diary: "Adultery was condemned as a crime and faithfullness extolled as a virtue" /cited in English/.

and everyone tries to avoid accusations of violating it, nevertheless individual violations occasionally did and do occur, and many a married person has secretly transgressed. Bridges' assertion, "there is no fidelity between man and wife" /cited in English/ (VSA:XIII, 203;1866), is false in its generality, and he

/695 cont./

855 887 their own favorite, seemed to me much more direct and spontaneous among these Fuegians, and hence more impressive, than among mothers in Europe.

855 609 152 As a result of their own love for the child, we can understand why our Indians quickly gain confidence in all Europeans who show themselves kindly disposed toward their children. How quickly Snow (a):I, 349 realized this and took advantage of it for the safety of his own person! He writes: "They were very fond of their children, and any notice we took of the little ones always gave them pleasure. This I observed on my first visit; and it was, in addition to firearms in my breast coat-pocket, one of the means I was prepared to use, had there been occasion when I went alone amongst them. A child in my arms was, I considered, a guard against any sudden attack upon me, if they loved their offspring as most savage tribes do" /cited in English/ (108). Anyone wishing to win

108. Phillips:58, on his very first encounter with these natives on October 22, 1855, on Lennox Island, made the same observation: "The women were greatly pleased with the notice I took of their children, and kept appealing for something for the 'piccanini'" /cited in English/.

the favor of the adults need only show himself tender and loving toward their children. How often have they themselves held up their youngest toward the white strangers to beg for presents. They valued whatever was done for the child more highly than if it had been done for themselves. Snow (a):I, 326 may again serve as a witness. In Banner Cove he saw /696/ the first natives coming toward him in a canoe. A younger woman was among them. "She had a baby at the breast; and frequently, with a winning smile and plaintive voice, asked, by the oft repeated words, Yamana Scoona! for something for the pauca ninne. Mrs. Snow gave her many little presents, for which she returned grateful smiles and Cuttacutta (apparently: many thanks) over and over again. Her attachment to the child was evident; and what was given to the child she showed she understood was for that purpose by putting it

/696 cont./

855 609 152

immediately around its neck, or about its person" /cited in English/ (109). Later, after they had become sufficiently convinced

109. Snow (b):262 was so impressed by the love of children shown by these Fuegian mothers that he again speaks of his experiences and calls it unjust toward the parents that the missionaries wanted to take a few children for training to Isla Keppel. "One of the women had a baby with her, and there was something most winning in her manner when she asked us to give her child some present. She was much attached to her babe, even as I found all of the Fuegian mothers were, and I feel certain that to attempt taking those younger children away on any pretence whatever is wrong in the extreme... They are very fond of their children" /cited in English/.

of the kindliness of the missionaries for their children, a few families finally decided to entrust them with their darlings for a short time (p. 310 /untranslated/). Today Yamana children are much more suspicious of even the most well-intentioned Whites than I observed the children of the Selk'nam (110) to be, because they have had

110. On my first journey I effortlessly gained the confidence of the Selk'nam by way of the hearts of their children. See Gusinde (t):164 and (dd):78.

many sad experiences.

842 Now it will no longer be surprising to learn -- corresponding exactly to the ideas above -- that a married couple is envied because of their large flock of children. As each individual child provides great joy for the married couple, their happiness and satisfaction increase with the number of their offspring. "The more children, the more entertainment and variety in the hut on the long evenings," Walter confessed to me in a moment of deep sorrow when his youngest girl, who, with her slightly older brother, was what remained of eleven children, fell seriously ill. I often heard

/698 cont./

•152 Later we shall show that quite generally Fuegian families have many children, but it can scarcely be imagined how much every mother and father suffer at the death of a child. They feel the bitterest sorrow and do not recover from this loss for the rest of their lives. They destroy absolutely everything that might remind them of their lost darling, even if he was only a few months old. They never repeat his name, so as not to be reminded of the gap left by relentless death (113). The mother addresses urgent pleas

113. Hyades (g):39 reports: "The loss of children is commonly felt very deeply, and not infrequently the French [of the Mission Scientifique] saw the features of the savages cloud over and the women even burst into tears and lamentations if there was a chance reference to such a death."

to Hidáɣuan, the Yamana deity, to make her sick darling well, and she indulges in bitter reproaches against him if, in spite of her pleas, he tears the child away from her by death. The mother's lamentations over her lost darling never cease. Walter's wife, of whose eleven children only two are still living, watches over her frail daughter who is about five years old with almost pathological anxiety, in order not to lose her, too. All the women speak pityingly of her, for they see with what anxiety and apprehension she clings to this youngest child, as though to a last refuge.

855 For all parents many healthy, lively, and obedient children are not only an extraordinary satisfaction, but far beyond that also a justifiable pride (114). They stir up fresh life in the entire

114. Bridges (i):21 says only: "The mothers were always proud to tell how many children they had" /cited in English/. The fathers do the same.

neighborhood, and every adult delights in their enthusiastic play. They offer the women, who like to assemble in the hut of the happy parents, tireless entertainment during the long evening /699/ hours. Many a woman grows sick at heart if she remembers her own

/759 cont./

get up one by one at midnight. The old instructor led us out of the Great Hut, pointed to certain stars, and mentioned their names. He also showed us the Yoálox family, saying: 'The elder Yoálox is the husband of every girl who has become túxi; he causes the bleeding after every moon [-cycle]!' He also impressed upon us: 'Keep all this to yourselves, for this is a secret for girls and they should not speak about it with boys!'"

The women actually do avoid speaking about their monthly bleeding, wélix. It finally becomes so taken for granted that they probably seldom think of Yoálox in connection with it. I did not find out whether they specify a particular reason for the cessation of the menses in the change of life; they are indifferent toward it.

4. Children's Play

The happy disposition of our Fuegians is shown in entertaining games. Whenever there are many people gathered together and the weather is favorable, they greatly enjoy playing together for hours. Children soon show a great love of play, and when several get together, they, too, immediately begin to entertain themselves in their modest way.

Both boys and girls amuse themselves, each in their own way, and the demands on the sexes are already in force here. In play no less than in other things the separation of the sexes is supposed to be observed; this is gladly overlooked, however, when so-called social games are played, in which adults, too, often take part. There are no special playthings for older children; instead, for their childish entertainment they very often imitate grownups at work. Although the social games mentioned above are not confined to children alone, they are the ones who most frequently play them; hence we shall describe them here.

Despite the unrestricted merriment and wholesome liveliness that all children show in their play, this flock of little ones is relatively silent and quiet. True, they are not /760/ mute, but there is no wild noise and ceaseless yelling, and no one would dare shout at the top of his lungs or cry just to show off. This behavior fits very well with the quiet and hushed manner of babies (p. 520) and adults.

/773 cont./

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"as a general rule, adults always respect their parents, the father a little more than the mother" /translated from French/.

The respectful attitude of Fuegian children toward their parents does not in the least affect the loving fellowship of parents and children together. They are naturally dependent on one another, and the more they are in harmony, the more surely will the /774/ family, as a self-contained social entity, *fulfill its* duty toward the tribe and the more easily it will attain its goal as an economic unit. The children complement their parents spiritually, and vice versa. They cling to each other and instinctively as well as consciously avoid anything that might separate them. They live for each other's happiness.

[12]

Although embracing and kissing are not customary among them, they show their affection toward one another with friendly looks and heartfelt words, by caressing and leaning against one another, with affectionate play and all kinds of attentions. Parents are concerned day and night about their little ones; they provide food and shelter, maintenance and security; indeed, they risk their own lives and defy all kinds of danger to promote the health and welfare of their child (204). How dear and precious a child is to its parents is unequivocally expressed when the child is severely ill or lost through death.

204. Like Lovisato (b):145 (see footnote 208), Bove (e):158 and (g):234 also makes the absurd assertion: "Mother love lasts about as long as the child nurses at the breast; by the age of seven or eight the parents' influence soon ceases altogether, for as soon as the son is able to get along without his parents, he leaves them. The only feeling that governs them is self-love." Hyades (p):331 describes the true situation, although much too tersely: "In general the parents care for their children until the day the latter marry" /translated from French/.

/775 cont./

867 jokes and obscenities from adults. The latter may reveal weaknesses during moments when they lose control of themselves, but in general they try to appear exemplary and without faults in front of youngsters. Parents are extremely careful in their conjugal relations, since the little ones sleep in the same hut.

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583 Because parents honestly strive not to show their weaknesses before young people and to be truly at their best for their own child, the children see them in a pure light. This brings about the tender and deeply felt attachment of children toward those to whom they owe so much. Fortunately, this is also promoted by daily contact, which convincingly demonstrates how very much the members of an individual family are dependent upon one another. The consciousness of belonging together becomes so intense that individuals do not like to be separated even temporarily. Hence, it is impossible for some families to get a child from among their circle of relatives to stay with them in their hut for a few days, which is greatly desired by a family that for some reason or other does not have a little child.

591 152 At present there are a few families without children, and they are making an effort to take some child in with them for a short time (206). In spite of all the love and care that they offer,

206. Bridges (a):103 hints at this custom: "Children do not always live with their parents, sometimes a friend takes them away and they are away from their parents for weeks" /cited in English/.

the little ones scarcely ever feel quite at home with them and soon beg to be taken back to the parental hut. Children simply cannot stand to be with other people permanently (207). We can

207. Bridges (a):134 once maintained: "A girl before she is finally given away to her destined husband is now and again sent to live with him for a short time, when she again returns to her parents, but no sooner is she of marriageable age than she is finally disposed of" /cited in English/. Such a

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practice was not customary among the Yamana according to my inquiries.

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easily imagine how the poor creatures who are orphaned suffer for years. Some relative, to be sure, takes charge of them and tries his best to care for them, but he cannot replace their real parents. Even after children have long since established their own

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households, they often visit their old parents (208) out of a childish

208. In the following words, which are incomprehensible to me, Lovisato (b):145 proves that he lacks a gift for observation: "Among the Fuegians... maternal love does not exist. The love of a mother for her child lasts only as long as he is nursing; when he leaves the breast, it diminishes, and by the time he is seven or eight years old it ceases completely... Also, the children have little love for their parents" /translated from Italian/.

desire for love; they are happy when they can see them and inquire about their circumstances. /776/ When they meet other people, they try to learn something about their own parents. The latter, too, follow their child no less with their thoughts and hopes when, as sometimes happens, they do not see him for months. They are happy when they hear good and pleasant news; unfavorable and derogatory reports make them sad. It is well known that during the first several weeks, the new bride often goes back to her mother, and the mother, overjoyed, says to her: "I want to paint you!" She does this with particular tenderness and in the hope that the young husband will learn to love her daughter very much (p. 428). Afterwards the daughter presents herself to her husband and says: "My mother painted me!" This is intended to remind him of the wedding and to arouse his initial love. The frequent visits, however, are above all an expression of the firm attachment of the child to the parents, which even marriage does not loosen.

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/910 cont./
the individuals have calmed their inner excitement at the dances each evening. These are the occasions when everyone is free to get up and, to the accompaniment of the dance movements, loudly pour out his feelings and impulses. Sometimes this is done with profound, trembling emotion. Accordingly, it is late before those present can lie down to sleep, but they can do so earlier in case they have spent the day in tiring work and hunting. When quiet has been restored after the final lively dance movements and everyone has resumed his place, the leader, with a vigorous, drawn-out hō ho ho ho hō, gives the sign for the night's rest. They all join in the same call and in a somewhat softer voice, repeat this hō ho ho ho hō. Immediately most of them wrap themselves in their covers and lie down to sleep. One or another of them will remain seated if he feels so inclined and continue the customary song in a low, soft voice.

Their sleep is not entirely quiet, however, for the song may never cease entirely and the many people lie close together. Our Yamana are used to this. In the early morning the candidates are awakened by their sponsors and immediately sit up again. After another one and a half to three hours, about six o'clock, the adults get up. The leader himself gets up when he thinks it is time and again gives the long, lusty call hō ho ho ho hō which he made the night before as the signal for going to sleep. At this summons the others also end their rest (333). The general move-

333. This happened at my first initiation in accordance with the old customs. Two years later, lively Santiago awakened the candidates, including myself, at about five o'clock with a thundering voice. The adults were allowed to sleep for another good hour, while a few women arranged the feeble fire.

ment in the Great Hut rouses the last sleepers. Everyone immediately gets up, straightens his sleeping-place, and squats down again. /911/ He rubs the sleep out of his eyes with his finger and then combs his hair. This is the whole of the morning toilette. Formerly most of the people went outside to a brook and washed, the ulwaia being accompanied by their sponsors. Nowadays all

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Since every adult in the Tahgee has thoroughly reviewed in his mind the events and experiences of recent years, the memory of his dead relatives is very vivid. He gives repeated and open expression to it, first of all by means of a painting executed in such a way that everyone immediately interprets it as a sign of mourning. Occasionally a person will, in his grief, very secretly pick up a small piece of charcoal, crush it with furious haste between the palms of his hands, and in a frenzy rub the powder all over his face. This is a sign of deepest mourning over

Fig. 96. Patterns of Painting for Mourning

the recent loss of a very close relative. In memory of loved ones who /916/ have been dead for some time, the face is covered with symbolic patterns inspired by an unpredictable fancy of the moment.

Figure 96 shows a few of these patterns. In a, a single black line is drawn straight across each cheek. Diametrically in contrast to this, the whole face in b is rubbed with red powder, on top of which two medium-thick black lines are drawn. In c the unusual outlining of the eyes in black pigment and the short line below the under lip is likewise applied on a red background. /Fig. 96 appears here./ In d again the whole face is first painted red and afterward a complicated pattern is applied with black pigment. Still other

/fifth room./

dancings and persons are carried out, depending on the artistic fancy that rouses them. Each person present, of course, wears the kapeshi and carries his short, decorated dance staff.

With his painted ornamentation and in memory of the deceased, the individual dances back and forth for a while, gliding through the entire room. As is the case with these dance movements in general, the body is held almost straight, the legs are bent somewhat at the knees, and the feet are placed one behind the other, close together. The left foot hops a few centimeters forward and the right foot is pulled after it. The fingers of both hands hold the dance staff horizontally or slightly diagonally and lift it slowly up and down with rolling motions toward the body. Sometimes both hands grasp the short staff hold sideways and downward and move it forward and backward as though rowing. It is even grasped at the center with the right hand alone and held horizontally at shoulder height, as though it were a harpoon. In this position the dancing person will quickly glide along the area of the fire, and another person will do the same in a path close to him, but in such a manner that the two move past each other in opposite directions from one end to the other.

Meanwhile the mourner will utter short laments. After a few minutes he will sit down and repeat his show of grief in long sentences. For example, on the second evening old Mary sadly cried out while the dancing was going on. "At that time when my parents, my uncle, and my aunt were still living and performed in the Kshaus hut, a great many people were gathered together. All of them knew the game well and all were enjoying it. Today we are but a very /few/ few. We hardly know how to perform the Kshaus beautifully. Then comes the very end!" On the next evening I heard the following words from the same Mary: "Ah, how poor we Yamana are today! Only a few of our people are still living. Then comes our indescribable end. In my memory I see the many who were with me in the Kshaus for the first time; today I am the only one left of all of them!" She was immediately joined by her husband Richard: "At the time when my mother gave birth to me it was very nice among us Yamana. There were still many people living and we were a large family. But today I am in a very poor state, for I am alone in the world! My brothers and sisters are dead, my parents have not been living for a long

/926 cont./

time, my uncle and aunt are long since gone. Who wouldn't be sad to be all alone here in this world as I am!"

Meanwhile Gertie was rubbing a lot of charcoal powder on her face. Then she excitedly rose from her place and began in a wild tune: "How sad is our lot! Last winter another of my kinfolk died. Only a very small remnant of us Yamana has remained behind!" Then, as though mad, she glided back and forth [illegible] black line across her right and left cheek (Fig. 86, a) and remained squatting in her place. Both of them wept for an aunt who had recently passed away.

Once old Whaits also cried out into the general singing the following words of grief: "Alas, poor me! I am completely orphaned, for last winter my very last kinsman died. Now I am alone in this world!" His wife who sat next to him sobbed loudly and wept bitterly: "Yes, it is true, you are all alone in the world! Your family had its home in the west and was once large. It is true, you are now the last of your large family. But these two whites who have come to us (338) raise our spirits. They have

338. Very conspicuously, by glance and gesture, she points to Gminde and Koppers.

become Yamana and are therefore related to you. So cheer up!"

Almost every evening some participant will show his grief. Occasionally several people or the greater part of them will follow this example, so that a general lamenting, weeping, whimpering, and moaning commences. After the group as a whole has calmed down, one person or another continues his sobbing until far into the night; no one stops him.

4. Free interjections. Proof of the complete freedom with which each participant in the Great Hut may express his innermost feelings is given by the impromptu words which he scatters through his singing. He is permitted to do this any time of day. Usually he commits himself with a few short sentences. The words of one will sometimes stimulate his neighbor to /926/ carry on the same thought or to supplement it. When almost all the people take part in the common singing in the evening, the various interjections not only follow one another directly, but also are given

X 881 533 /926 cont./ simultaneously. They enliven the already excited movement still more. The spirit and content of these utterances will be shown in a few sentences which I shall give here.

X 881 533 264 The people had already been loudly singing for about two hours. The kitchen women enter with the meal and are greeted with loud calls of hóhohohohō. Santiago, the leader, suddenly stops and simply calls out: "I am going to break off my song, for I am very tired and hungry!" Most of the people carry on the song; the rest eat hastily in order to take up the song soon after.

X 881 533 535 264 One evening coffee is brought in very late. Everyone is extremely happy about it. Every adult reaches for his cup, and with outstretched arms bent only slightly at the elbow, he holds it out. A few persons get up, skip back and forth, and lead the singing in a lively voice. Their gestures are lively because they are happy to be able to partake of something. They skip toward the kitchen woman with her large can, dance around her, and hold out their cups to her. As she fills each cup and also distributes bread, the others continue to hop all around her. Soon they draw away again, dancing with their filled cups, and sit down in their places. Their gay hopping is an expression of great satisfaction over the tasty drink. One of them says loudly: "How glad I am that I have been given something to eat and drink!" In a singing tone one woman cries: "Now there is something to eat and drink again; that is wonderful!" The kitchen woman who distributed food and drink brought joy and lively activity to the whole gathering.

X 881 537 153 609 On the first evening when a short pause occurred in the group singing, Santiago, the leader at that time, cried in a loud voice: "Once again we have gathered here to celebrate čiéxaus. We want to do it well! This game came to us from the west; it came here from the Halakwulup. Today we have a Halakwulup (339)

339. He meant the youthful Julia who, several weeks before, had fled to the Yamana and who was invited to this initiation in Puerto Mejillones (p. 692).

among us. She will observe us carefully and afterwards tell her

X 881 537 152 609

/926 cont./
people how we conduct the čiéxaus. So we must do it particularly well this time!"

Shortly afterwards he interjected a personal remark into the song of the others: "Today two puĭala [instead of palaĭala, p. 333 /untranslated/] are sitting among us. We are putting on the čiéxaus for their benefit (340). We want to celebrate it well!"

340. He means by this that Gusinde and Koppers are being granted the distinction never before given a European of experiencing this secret performance from beginning to end.

On the same evening Clara also spoke up: "I have a Halakwulup [Julia] as my protégé. She is doing everything that is required of her here in the čiéxaus; /927/ she faithfully observes all the regulations and is enjoying our celebration. She came here to us because she no longer has any close relatives; she is an orphan. We are gladly taking her in; she may live among us peacefully and undisturbed, for there are only a few of us Yamana left. My family was once also very large; now not one of my relatives is still living. I alone am left, that is why I am so sad; čiéxaus!"

Afterwards Peine interrupted the singing: "I am very happy about those two Whites [Gusinde and Koppers]. They are influential men, and they respect our customs. They are proving themselves uŝwĭala tes [genuine candidates]. They are sticking to the čiéxaus program. That is why I am sincerely sorry that they will leave us soon. They are genuinely good human beings!" She was immediately followed by Mary: "I, too, am happy that these two Whites have become well acquainted with our čiéxaus and have carefully adapted themselves to all [the rules]. They are splendid men!" Old Peine again came forward: "How sorry I am that these two men will leave us! They are heeding the order of this hut better than many of our own people!"

Once, late in the afternoon, Pedro sang a very long time. His soft legato voice sounded like a chorale. Interrupting himself, he said: "I am an old man and have but little vitality left. But now I am happy, for I have heard that this White [Gusinde] wants to

/927 cont./

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to help us because he appreciates us Yamana! If only he can bring to pass what he has promised us, namely, to intercede for us [with the Chilean government] so that we may continue to live peacefully in this place (341). I am happy about this

[648]

341. He has the following in mind. For a number of years the Lawrence brothers had leased the region around Puerto Mejillones on the north shore of Navarino Island from the Chilean government who permitted the Yamana to settle in this small harbor. The lease would run out the following year, and there was danger that this piece of land would fall into other hands. This would make the future very uncertain for the Yamana, and they had reason to be afraid that they would be driven out of this place which they had learned to love. In view of this, I had promised them to present their wishes to the Ministerio de Colonisación in Santiago. Later I kept my promise. Now the few surviving Yamana are spending their last days in this small harbor. Compare Gusinde (d):60 and page 364 /untranslated/.

[pleasant prospect]. That is why I took up the song and carried it on for so long!" Immediately afterward he continued his singing. The other people listened attentively and fell into a solemn mood, for his high voice was extraordinarily pleasant. Soon he paused again: "Truly, I am an old man. For a long time I have not taken part in a čiexaus. I am one of the last of the old people [of former times]. In my younger years I was always on hand wherever čiexaus took place. I was always among the first who took up the singing. For a long time I have not taken part in it for I am old. When I was young we went down to the beach at night to bathe; we sang as we did so, and I was never absent. And yet, to this day I have some /928/ strength and joy left. Truly, it is not right that I have been inactive until now. I shall summon the last of my strength and all the younger people will see that I as an old man am not holding back. So I shall go on singing!" He sang even more vigorously than before; he even stood up to dance

/928 cont./

881 and jumped with sheer joy. His behavior encouraged everyone
537 present.
152 This time blind Whaits also took an extremely active part
609 in the singing. He constantly interrupted it and interjected: "I am a man well along in years and the singing is a strain on me. If I were still a young chap, as formerly when I took part in the čiẽxaus with other young men, I would have more strength and fire, then I would sing better. You cannot expect more from an old, blind man than what I am actually offering." After a short pause he continued sadly: "I am well aware that this affair is not conducted as solemnly and seriously as formerly. I regret that very much. In olden times čiẽxaus was unsurpassably beautiful!" As he said this, he was seized with anger; he knew that we two were present: "I am shocked that this time we have even [European] strangers among us. Off with you two! It is a disgrace that our čiẽxaus is no longer as beautiful as it used to be, that everyone present no longer takes such an active and conscientious part in the dances as was formerly the rule. Off with you two; what is our čiẽxaus to you! Even less should you see it now when it is done so badly. Leave this Great Hut immediately (342)!"

342. It was a momentary surge of high dudgeon that provoked this old man to such insulting words. He soon calmed down, was later thoroughly enlightened by his two daughters, both of whom were our sponsors, and finally proved to be our sincere friend. Through the sponsorship of his daughters, we even became related to him. See Koppers (a): 70.

881 While dinner was being distributed and eaten, great stillness
537 prevailed. After that quite loud group singing started up again.
152 While it was going on, Whaits said: "The song [the melody] that I am singing originated with my uncle. He taught it to me when I was uswãla; since then I have repeated it often. How lovely it was in those days when I was still a young chap. At that time there were many people living!"
Somewhat later he added: "All the beautiful šewãli [flints] come from the west. The long ũkeša [leather straps to capture the

X 881 537 152

/928 cont./ candidates], too, were best there. They covered the framework of the Great Hut there with the most excellent skins. Truly, everything [that is used for the čiéxaus ceremony] was incomparably more beautiful in the west than in the central part and in the east" (343).

343. In these words there is again a reference to the common view of the origin of this initiation in the extreme west and its infiltration into the central Yamana regions.

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After a while, the same Whaits again interrupted the general singing: "Tomorrow we shall leave the Great Hut. This čiéxaus went off nicely and yet it put me in a sad mood. I am an old /Plate 3 appears here/ /929/ man who does not expect many more years of life. Among us there is a good White, I know him from former times (344). He will help us to keep this

344. On my first visit in February, 1919, I had met this old man in Punta Remolino, talked to him for a long time, and at that time received important data about Fuegian mythology. See Gusinde (a):39.

piece of land here [at Puerto Mejillones]; he promised us that. So, take advantage of his presence, young people! I personally will hardly benefit from it, for I am very old, I feel weak and tired of life. You young people may take advantage of his offer. I wish you success!"

Tormented by anxiety, blind Whaits again came back to this topic. Sadly he said: "Alas, poor me! I have been living in this place for many years. I have grown old. I always had enough to eat and my dwelling always stood here. But the Whites are betraying us Yamana. Now they will take this little spot away from us, then they will drive me and my wife from this island [Navarino]. Woe to us who are so helpless [against the Whites]! Where shall we turn? The Whites are already everywhere. If they should actually drive us away, then let them take

[Text continues on page 808]

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the whole island [Navarino] away from here and drag it along with them wherever they wish!"

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Each speaker and singer concludes his words with a loud and vigorous call, "čiéxaus." This is correctly interpreted as giving force to their utterances and emphasizing their assertions, as well as a cry of confidence in the fulfillment of wishes expressed, and finally as a curse upon whatever they complain of and condemn. Sometimes this concluding cry of "čiéxaus" sounds like a cry of despair.

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Just as the singing in general is meant to drive away Yetáita (p. 781), particularly interjections have the same purpose. If any leading person sees this evil spirit approaching, he loudly calls upon all those present to drive him away. One evening (345) the

345. See Koppers (a):81 concerning this evening performance during the fourth day of the celebration.

women were very vigorously dancing, and Santiago felt an urge to incite them to a state of extreme excitement. He shouted to them from his seat: "Dance on! Yetáita is still very near and refuses to go away!" Soon he added: "Dance harder! Yetáita still shows no sign of withdrawing." After a few minutes he cried out, as though slightly relieved: "Just go on bravely! Already Yetáita is starting to retreat, he is sinking head-down into the earth!"

Our interpreters explained to us why Santiago and Pedro made such urgent demands for loud singing and vigorous dancing. As strangers and unbidden ones in this čiéxaus hut, they say, we attracted the special attention of Yetáita; the people present were afraid he could do us particular harm. Hence the greatest effort was required /930/ to push this Yetáita, who is very dangerous for everyone, deep into the interior of the earth so that he could not harm us in any way.

Again Santiago cried loudly: "Dance on! I still see Yetáita's feet sticking out of the ground." After a few minutes, as though relieved, he says: "I see only one foot [sticking out of the ground]. But go on dancing (346)!" Then: "Now I see only one toe of

346. Chris had meanwhile carefully observed Santiago, the leader. At these words, an

/930 cont./

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amused grin flitted over his face, and stealthily pointing with his finger, he whispered: "He [Santiago], too, has a foot sticking out of his blanket!"

Yetáita. Just go on dancing!" Fixedly Santiago stares at one spot on the ground. After about ten minutes he sighs with relief: "At last Yetáita has completely disappeared. But I still see the hole through which he descended. I must close that, too. So dance on!" After a few minutes he cries joyfully: "Even that deep hole is closed now. All I hear is a faint rumbling in the far distance. Yetáita has finally left us altogether! So stop dancing and rest yourselves!"... Scarcely an evening goes by during which Yetáita is not driven away with at least one or two loud utterances.

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5. Interjections by the Guard. It is well known that the so-called guard, winefkē'a, has a special position in the čiēxaus celebration. He is not only characterized by a particular facial painting (p. 684), but he may even wear a feather decoration reserved for the yékamuš. No one was able to explain why he has this privilege; they said: "It has always been like that!" Moreover, he has a definite song, more exactly, two melodies which are noticeably different from the group singing and which he alone intones. He does so when the group singing has died out. His rendition is very melodious and sonorous. Not even his assistants may accompany him.

X881 625

Outside the Great Hut the guard demonstrates that he is an alert guardian of this sanctuary who will terrify and drive away outsiders (p. 684). Inside the čiēxaus hut he repeatedly assumes the role of the furious winefkē'a whose name he bears (347). In

347. This word means Leucophaeus scoresbii, the fierce predatory bird of the high seas (Fig. 82).

March, 1922, Richard held this position. In the late afternoon of March 11, after the participants had again taken their seats in the Great Hut, he placed himself next to the main entrance and acted as though he had just entered. His face was white; his mouth and

/949 cont./

X881 into the adult circle. The čiẽxaus hut is thoroughly cleaned and decorated; the color on the ornamental plaques and sticks, as well as on the long leather strap, ũkesa, is touched up; everyone present arranges his own ornaments and paints himself carefully. In the rear of the Great Hut a curtain of sea-lion skins is hung, just as on the occasion of visits (p. 821), and the candidates immediately seat themselves behind it. Soon afterwards, notified by the winefkẽ:a, there is a gathering here of the people who had remained behind in the camp almost entirely throughout the čiẽxaus celebration. They, too, appear with extraordinarily beautiful facial painting and are equipped with the hapaxẽl and dance staff.

A particularly solemn moment is at hand. All the adults very gravely squat in their places, and the uninterrupted singing by some one person sounds noticeably moved. At the direction of the leader a middle-aged man goes behind the curtain and bids the uswẽ:ala to follow him. They arrange themselves in single file, [535] headed by the man. With short, mincing steps, holding their dance staffs horizontally /950/ and lifting them up and down in a circular motion, they dance back and forth through the long hut several times. Meanwhile all the adults take part in the singing. Finally the row of youthful dancers stops in the middle of the rom. Their leader now accompanies one uswẽ:ala after another to his respective sponsor. The sponsor, without getting up, takes his hẽtakuxẽ:olan by the hand, moves slightly to one side, and invites him to sit down beside him. This act is regarded as a formal presentation of the ward to his sponsor and as an adoption of the young people into the adult group. The uswẽ:ala is herewith declared a full-fledged member of the tribe. On this occasion everyone present is gripped with [152] strong emotion. They cannot hold back tears of sentiment at the happiness of the sponsors and their adopted children. They quite rightly see in this solemn act the climax of the entire youth initiation, for in the latter, as we know, maturing young people are to [608] become full-fledged tribal associates. At the same time this also publicly and forever seals the spiritual kinship between the sponsors and their wards, hẽtakuxẽ:olan. Occasionally at this time, but [431] usually not until the great feast, the ward receives from his sponsor a special gift consisting of three items.

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648 and Ona; in this case it results in strife /translated from French/. Cooper:174 sums up the situation correctly, namely, that "as a rule on border territories the relations have been fairly peaceful" /cited in English/.

relations with Europeans (p. 246 /untranslated/), especially to missionaries (p. 288 /untranslated/), has also been treated in detail and has long been known. Cooper:174 characterizes it correctly and briefly as follows: "More commonly, however, the white man has, deliberately or unwittingly, been the first to give offence" /cited in English/. After the Whites spread out in the Cape Horn Archipelago and confiscated the useful land for themselves, there was nothing for the former sole owners of this region to do but to give in without resistance and with quiet resignation.

a. Causes

152 578 The Yamana know no more than other primitive peoples how to control their hurt feelings, especially their feeling of injured honor, nor how to settle insults or humiliations in the amicable way of quiet, matter-of-fact explanation or through a sort of arbiter. /987/ Everyone personally and with his own fist sees to it that justice is done him and that he obtains what he believes to be adequate satisfaction. The individual is first of all sole judge and avenger; in certain instances his nearest relatives help him in protecting his rights.

152 The desire and passion for revenge are extraordinarily emphasized among the Yamana (406). Sometimes they are so carried

406. It is misleading when Hyades (q):240 maintains: "The desire for vengeance does not occupy the Fuegians much..." /translated from French/. The small number of words for the feeling of revenge is no measure of its strength. In this connection see other opinions in Waitz:III, 507.

/987 cont./

•152 away that they are completely incapable of anything like a sensible judgment of an incident. A person will literally foam with rage, in fact storm around as though he had taken leave of his senses, and will even vent his wrath on persons who are intimately connected with the offender who is not within his reach (407). Nevertheless,

> 407. In agreement with Dabbene (b):198, Bridges and Furlong assert: "The Yahgan are very vengeful, and in the event of serious offenses or of homicide they are not so concerned about pursuing the criminal when he has successfully escaped, but in their fury they inflict vengeance on any member of the guilty person's family" /translated from Spanish/.

he can muster astonishing self-control when he realizes that he is too weak to stand against his opponent. He is even capable of hiding his feelings until he is sure of superior strength. This conduct obviously betrays genuine cowardice, and it was no different toward Europeans, for, as Cooper:174 definitely says, they have "often shown themselves hostile, aggressive, and treacherous, when they felt they were numerically superior" /cited in English/. According to the Indian, every satisfaction for an insult or an injustice is an actual act of revenge. This becomes clear from what Hyades (q):240 says, and even more so from the words of Bove (e):159: The family and friends of the injured person exact revenge. It is surely not love for the injured that causes a tribe [a family group] to take up arms, however; the spirit of revenge rules supreme in their hearts."

152 Closely connected with their exaggerated sensitivity and the
579 desire for revenge which is constantly alive in them is a high degree of suspicion. "There is, or was, a good deal of bad feeling for one another between the members of the three Fuegian tribes" /cited in English/ (Cooper:174). As a matter of fact, no one quite honestly trusts another, among men as well as among women, and everyone lies in wait, so to speak, as though at one time or another he expected a sign of hostile feeling or malevolent intent. Being conscious of this, the individual is more or less painfully exact and very cautious

/987 cont./

152 578 in associating with others. In spite of this, the suspicious eye of a neighbor is always discovering something, even though he does not look for it in a decidedly malicious way, and so he interprets this word or that attitude as an offense or a slight, as a threat or a challenge. This kind of character promotes vehement /988/ arguments and wild brawls. The supposed opponent who is attacked is, in most cases, not only innocent, but even completely without presentiment.

578 Linked with this tendency toward constant active suspicion is a never-resting implacability. This is understandable to us and taken for granted by the Yamana. It is why people who have once had more or less serious altercations almost never find their way back to complete mutual trust, no matter how well they seem to get along outwardly. They simply can never forget the incident. No one can conceal his suspicious or hostile attitude toward another person to the point of complete deception. That is why everyone is on his guard if he meets another person or has dealings with him. From all this we now see that the urge of the individual family to be alone, completely cut off from other people, is perfectly understandable, for grave suspicion, together with cowardice and the feeling of the inadequacy of one's own powers, forces them far away from those who could do harm or exact vengeance. Even though the joy of social intercourse now and then brings individual families into contact, they are, as a rule, content with a short period of being together and feel relieved when, soon after, they are once more on their own, free from the glances of suspicious critics. Social intercourse with others is never sincerely friendly without a shadow of mistrust. They are, according to Lothrop (b):164, not an "amicable people, according to most accounts. When two groups camped together trouble usually arose, and the weaker group moved away. This as well as the food quest accounts for their frequent changes of residence" /cited in English/. Hyades (q):375 emphasizes their implacability: "The offense which occasions the quarrel is sometimes very old, which proves that the Fuegians are vindictive" /translated from French/.

578 152 Inasmuch as the Yamana are incapable of completely hiding their inner feelings and emotions indefinitely from a sharp observer, anyone who believes that he has been offended soon adopts a

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152 discernible counter-position. With such an attitude, insulting words soon follow. For example, several men will be sitting in a circle; someone will be talking with his neighbor and affecting a mysterious air, meanwhile casting a fleeting glance toward a person who is not fond of him. This alone may cause the latter to become falsely suspicious and to assume that the other is talking disparagingly about him. He watches them more sharply, confirms his preconceived idea, and becomes angry. When the circle breaks up or when he feels more confident among another group of people, he will go up to the other man and say to him excitedly: "You have evil designs on me!" The other, being unsuspecting, is dumbfounded for a few minutes and then replies vehemently: "You want to be hostile to me!" The eyes of both men blaze, and immediately, with growing /989/ excitement and more and more loudly, they hurl serious words of suspicion at each other. If they feel they are a match in strength or cowardice, they part sulkily after some blustering. Anyone who feels that a person has spoken disparagingly about his troublesome dog, his naughty child, a personal fault, his laziness in hunting, his neglect of his family, or his illicit relations with a woman, even if he has no further proof than his own suspicious assumption, will usually confront his supposed opponent on the spot and demand an explanation. Without exception, the latter will flare up and resort to invectives or threats which finally lead to blows. A person will be especially annoyed when insulting words and wounding opinions that were actually spoken are brought by a tale-bearer. This is especially the case among women. They are not only quicker to have it out with words, but are also ready with fists.

Such occasions for feuds are frequent and hence an everyday matter, so to speak, because they arise out of the association of a number of people. The situation becomes much more serious in case of adultery. It makes no difference how this becomes known. The mere suspicion creates a dangerous situation for both parties, even though one or the other is innocent. Actually, all the Yamana, without exception, are severe in their condemnation of this error, whether it is convincingly proved or merely probable, simply because they are decidedly jealous. This does not alter the fact that some of them in their own personal behavior may err even more

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●152 seriously and habitually. The same serious situation arises when a woman leaves her husband, for she usually tries to steal away because of a love affair with another man.

627 The thirst for revenge is, of course, most deeply aroused by
674 an actual, premeditated murder, and nothing sets families against each other so violently as this act. For the Yamana every human life, even that of a child, is most precious and sacred (Bridges [h]:205); hence murder is an utterly abhorrent deed (408). There

408. In this connection compare our account of infanticide (p. 528) and abortion (pp. 491, 535).

are exceptions, however. Most murders come about through adultery.
[837] For example, if a married man is looking for a new tie and leaves his wife without cause, her relatives take her part, and they demand that the faithless husband give an account of himself or they simply take the law into their own hands and murder him. They say: "This woman joined herself to this man and they should live together to the end of their lives; since he failed in his duty, he must be punished!" Divorce without adequate cause is an offense against a generally recognized law. Each murder of this kind unleashes a serious /990/ danger for another human life because of the obligation for blood vengeance, and the danger is even greater in the case of a murder for an insignificant reason (409). In view

409. Bridges (VSA:XI, 260;1864) mentions: "If a man kills another causelessly, his relations are greatly displeased, since it brings each one of them into danger. This is a great preventive to blood-shedding" /cited in English/.

of the dangerous position one puts himself into by an act of murder, the individual holds himself in check, even on occasions of greatest excitement and the almost unconquerable passion for revenge.

674 It must be said that murder is rare among the Yamana, although we cannot give exact figures (Cooper:174). On June 20, 1884, Bridges (MM:XVIII, 224; 1884) attempted some statistics on murder:

/1023 cont./

522 harmless game. Naturally, only skillful talkers and quick-witted humorists take up this game. Each member of the two groups for a long time afterward discusses the retorts and opinions given by the friend and by the opponent. Here, too, obscenities or offensive remarks are not permitted.

431 There is another practice which seems strange. Out of sheer exuberance a man will silently leave his hut, hurry down to the ● 152 beach, and smash the canoe of his guest. The latter watches the 522 performance dumbfounded, and he says passively, half-jokingly, half-sighing: "What in the world is happening to my canoe there? If it lies shattered, how shall I get back home?" The other replies from the beach: "It shouldn't really matter to you if all your things are smashed!" Meanwhile he returns to the hut where a regular talk contest begins, which this man had intended all along. He finally justifies his action by giving his guest a new canoe which he had purposely made for him. His gift is supposed to become known everywhere as such, and that is why he destroyed the old canoe. It is only in exceptional cases that such a mad prank has dire consequences.

152 The same exuberant desire to smash and throw everything into disorder sometimes seizes a whole group as, noisily and ob- 522 trusively, they assault the visitors from another region. Before these people can offer concerted resistance, their canoes, huts, tools, and utensils have long been chopped to pieces. They declare themselves conquered and withdraw as though defenseless until the opponents cease their raging, or they pull themselves together courageously, fall on the belongings of the others, and hack them to bits likewise. No one knows how this /1024/ mad prank is going to turn out. Usually the opposing parties come to terms and laugh heartily over their destruction. They quickly rebuild what they have lightheartedly destroyed. All effort seems slight compared to the great exuberance involved in their devastation.

Anyone who seeks diversion from monotonous daily work in the company of happy fellow-tribesmen can find it. To this end there are a number of practices which cultivate a community feeling and promote good fellowship.

/1062 cont./

782 539 for us, as he has these days. Our father will also protect these two Whites. For this, thanks be to thee, my father!

Just a reference to a few words which are also given in BD. BD:154 gives sönnakĭta, "solitary, lonely, secluded" /cited in English/. BD:152 gives: sahagĕdĭa, "to lie down happily, to lie down in peace, to be or live happily" /cited in English/. BD:281 explains laĭa, instead of lĕĭa given above, as, among other things: "shelving rocks with large spaces between them" /cited in English/, which is true of the coast at Puerto Mejillones. BD:177 mentions kögurĭĭda, "to be impatient to get" /cited in English/. BD:181 gives kömausteka, "to go, or come up in order to take care of" /cited in English/. The word kattĕgede is the same as kategata in BD:170.

It is surprising, to mention this again, that our Fuegians have created definite formulas of sincere thanksgiving for various occasions and that they often address these to their Supreme Being to pay their debt of gratitude to him.

δ. Lamens

765 152 The formulas with which bereaved persons filled with grief pour out their hearts and with which /1063/ people also unburden their souls of other forms of sorrow are more numerous and varied. In such situations they show their very human and altogether sensitive natures which they never before revealed to a European as ~~openly as they never before revealed to a European as~~ openly as they did to me on the occasion of a large funeral ceremony or on a few other occasions. Besides the lamens given here, the people of former times had a larger number which must be regarded as hopelessly lost. I was assured of this several times. 765 539 The prayers follow here in a rather free order, beginning with those that are actual expressions of mourning.

(1)

Hitapĕpe,	kĕmaĕpem	hĕja	ka-lĕpa
My father,	why indeed	me	from above

tutumeyuwakĕte.
punished.

/1068 cont./

TMS 559 to me! This is the lament of a mother who looks around in her hut and seeks in vain for her children, for death took them all. -- BD:280 gives hīnapēpan, "I by myself, without anybody else whatever" /cited in English/. BD:152 gives ḷaiwgīḷ, "to do happily, to be happily or at peace" /cited in English/. The children's hut, ōkēli, was described on page 36. Compare mōtalapōna, "to become quite calm" /cited in English/, in BD:320.

TMS 152 In a frenzy of emotion a grieving woman sometimes breaks the hut to pieces immediately after the funeral of her child. Whenever she looks around in the dwelling, she is aware of the gap which death made in the circle of her children. Therefore, she wants to destroy completely this picture which awakens the pain anew. At the same time she destroys the utensils used by the deceased child. John Lawrence and his sons assured me that they often witnessed this kind of wild behavior on the part of grieving parents.

TMS 559 (28) Ngaḷilumā ukīlawajaḷipan ḷagiǰēkude
I am from the sea the woman he took away

kīja, tīgma.
me, oh grief.

A widow mourns because the Supreme Being allowed her husband to drown in the sea. -- BD:16 gives ukīlaia, "a lake, pond, pool, puddle" /cited in English/. The above combination, a form familiar to the Tamana, says roughly, the woman who has something to do with the sea down there. BD:194 mentions kīgiǰekū, "to rise up and get fast, so as not to be able to pull down!" /cited in English./ The exclamation tīgma here is synonymous with tīlagwīja. Compare leema in BD:280.

(28) nīla kīpa-nīlyēn mantīgma tīlagwīja,
Yet from above observe cease, alas,

mantīgma/nīja.
my father.

Specifically this formula says: My father, I wish very much that you cease looking at me so sharply, otherwise I shall avenge myself soon enough and inflict a hurt on you, too. -- Compare mīlaku,

/1102 cont./

763 death rattle begins, they audibly start to moan and weep. This development almost always ends quickly.

763 The news has of course immediately spread to the nearest
152 huts. The neighbors remain quiet. They talk in subdued voices among themselves and cease any work that might be disturbing. The longer this continues, the more silent, thoughtful, and sad they become. The reminder of death in the immediate neighborhood makes every Yamana serious. The neighbors, through messengers, keep other people in a wide area informed about the course of events. They are prepared /1103/ to appear at the place of mourning at the proper moment. It is not customary among the Yamana for many people to gather around the dying person. Distant relatives and neighbors arrive only after death has occurred. Every dying person, however, wants his intimate family to be with him during his last hours (41).

41. As Bridges (1):14 expresses it: "at the last closing scene all friends and relations were expected to be present and to make the occasion important by their united lamentations. It was a great gratification to the sick to have their friends around them and so much honour showing them" /cited in English/.

The nearest relatives of the dying person, however, observe him closely enough so that they can estimate when the actual death struggle will commence. The poor soul is by then already unconscious or at least insensible. Now the people standing around begin their loud weeping and pitiful moaning. They scream and lament as though in despair over the departure of this relative. They do not utter definite words, but constantly repeat their long drawn-out weeping and moaning cries, varying them in intensity and pitch and shedding copious tears at the same time. They get up and crouch down, or they throw themselves on top of the dying one and roll on the ground with dreadful contortions of their entire bodies. They can usually tell quickly and accurately when death is setting in, whereupon they cry out so drilly and shriekingly that

/1103 cont./

763 152 one's blood curdles. Some of them behave uncontrollably, like lunatics, and tear the skin all over their bodies, rumple their hair, thrash about wildly, cramp themselves up and roll over the body, shake the hut framework, and scatter the fire with their hands, completely beside themselves. It is only when they are exhausted that they completely collapse, trembling all over. It is harrowing to watch such individuals. The others present also behave in a very excited and wild fashion. Weeping and groaning, they bend their bodies, repeatedly clutch their hair, and pull it angrily while a stream of tears flows unhindered down their cheeks to the ground. The shrill cry has told the waiting neighbors of the dying person's release; weeping and lamenting, they hasten there (42).

> 42. Bove (q):159 is the only one who reports on this and only briefly: "The last moments of a dying person are announced by a dreadful wailing; all who are present take part in the grief of the family. Women and men paint their faces and hands black and the nearest relatives even pull out their hair and cut their bodies with shells and knives."

763 739 There is little difference in the procedure when a person is released from a long illness by death. His relatives have carefully observed his condition and discussed it with neighbors and visitors. The sick person was obliged to remain in one place almost continuously with one or another of his nearest relatives. friends occasionally came to inquire about his condition and to bring him food or things he could use. Meanwhile /1104/ his strength deserts him. Those who have taken care of him are exhausted after watching him suffer for a long time. The nearer death comes, the more irritable and impatient they become, so that when the death struggle actually begins they behave as though they were completely mad. The suffering and agony that they have had to see their beloved relative endure have lasted too long. If the death struggle is considerably prolonged and if a person finally loses control of himself, it does not seem at all impossible

/1104 cont./

763 that he might strangle the dying one in order to release him from
764 the death agony (p. 344). Loud, shrill cries announce the end to
the neighborhood, and people arrive without delay. I myself wit-
nessed the two cases just described.

731 Fatal accidents are not uncommon. A whole family may
766 be taken if a canoe capsizes. A few men drag the body of a per-
son who has drowned or fallen from a rock into his hut if it is not
too far away. Otherwise, if the men are far from their function
as a communal band, they bury the victim then and there and
hasten to bring the news quickly to the family.

763 The demonstrations of mourning begin while a person is
152 dying and immediately afterwards. All the neighbors assemble in
front of the hut of the deceased or inside and start a loud, irregu-
lar mourning. Copious tears flow from grief and sincere sympathy.
Everyone is again vividly reminded of Wanyiliga who has taken
this person away. As was learned earlier from Bridge (p.) 206:
"When a person is very ill and likely to die, great grief is shown,
and the near relatives keep near, so as to act as guardians at the
decease of the sick. They show much grief, and when the sick
actually dies great lamentation is made, and the common weep
profusely" /cited in English/.

2. The Burial

769 There is a remarkable number of reports, most of them brief,
119 however, about the way our Fanglaam treat the corpse. The dying
one has scarcely ceased breathing when the persons present bury
themselves over him. As Bowe (p.) 338 says, this time erroneously:
"They wrap the body of the deceased, which is still almost warm
in a few rags." They use large pieces of leather and nowadays also
scraps of sacking. Usually they leave the body in the position it
assumed at death. The entire sheath is fastened and tied with
strips of leather which are tightly wrapped around it in various di-
rections (43). This happens in any case. "The dead are always

43. Dyedee (p.) 270 says briefly that "the body is wrapped in some old skins of cows or oxen, it is then buried". Lovisara

/1111/ Directly after the burial, as soon as their own things have been brought to safety, the widower or the widow usually sets fire to the hut, "burning fire to the grass and bushes of the neighborhood" /tr.ted to English/ (Bridges [0.1]). The meaning of this is that the survivors want to "do all they can to blot out all remembrance of the departed" /tr.ted to English/, according to Bridges (1:54-55, 336;1964). There should be nothing to remind them of the great loss they suffered when that beloved person was taken away from them. This is especially true of parents and children, as well as of spouses. Many a person believes the one deceased and, in his excitement, does not even dig from sacrificing indispensable objects of his own. The individual articles need not be burned, since everything is indiscriminately destroyed. The surviving spouse even destroys the canoe if there is a prospect of fleeing from this place of death to another vessel. The canoe is regarded as the personal field of activity of the wife, and it would commonly remind the surviving husband of her. A mother is particularly reckless with all the little things used by her deceased child. She furiously tears articles of clothing, toys, little baskets, and other things into the fire. She, too, feels as though she must leave the hut when she sees the empty places where her child ate, slept, and played. For a long time the parents are haunted by the bitterest sorrow. If a father whose daughter has been snatched away by death is lucky in hunting, he carefully examines his spoils; he abandons female birds and sea lions because they remind him of his daughter. A hunter who mourns a dead son acts similarly; he takes only the female animals of those he has killed and throws the males into the sea. Our Tarnese have a specific term for the animals that a grieving man puts aside in memory of his deceased child: *tiyolligra*, which is perhaps related to *tiyoh* 'belly' + *ulla* 'to die' (D:139). The dog is the sole exception. Out of pity, and also because he is particularly valuable, they do not want to kill him; hence he is given to the elder son, daughter, or a relative of the deceased.

Anyone who has helped at a burial and in the destruction of the possessions of the deceased is rewarded with gifts from the nearest relatives who dispense them voluntarily (p. 1038). Bridges (1:338) has already pointed out that "liberal presents are made to those who assist at the burning or the burial" /tr.ted to English/.

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76 Hyades (2):336 and (4):279 interpret this custom erroneously: "The heir divides among the friends of the deceased what belonged to the latter, as though the nearest relatives did not wish to draw any kind of profit from the death of one of them" /translated from French/. The idea of bequeathing the possessions of a deceased person to others is unfamiliar to our Fuegians. Rather, they emphasize that only the owner personally has a right to them, and therefore the belongings of anyone who has departed this life must be destroyed. BD:127 gives ciyelliara, /1111/ "to give away things specially those left by the dead, as a sign of sorrow for the dead, as near relatives were expected to do to those who were not connected by kin with the dead" /cited in English/. This statement, which in part is inaccurate, is valid only to the extent I have just indicated. I refer to the meaning of ciyelliara, which I obtained from present-day Yamana.

76b All the Indians are especially brisk in dealing with the corpse of a yékamuš. almost without exception it is burned. His tools and utensils are placed upon the fire from the start, and while the flames are consuming everything, the people present also toss in all kinds of things that they happen to have at hand, such as small baskets, ornaments, tools, and so forth. They want to show their esteem for the yékamuš and also that they are ruthlessly depriving themselves of even their own indispensable utensils and implements.

3. Minor Manifestations of Sorrow

● 152 Since our Fuegians do not know anything about the fate of souls after death and regard the separation from them as a state that will last forever, each death causes them untold sorrow. This is so sincere and so deeply felt that in this respect they surpass many Europeans. Not everyone who has traveled through those regions has had an opportunity to convince himself of this, since our Indians conceal their grief from strangers. I was a witness to it several times and can also rely on corresponding reports of missionaries. Bove (4):118, who does not even mention that he personally observed a funeral, nevertheless, and perhaps for that very reason, speaks of their "indifference toward the dead. The cries they utter, the way

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● 152 they beat themselves, the destruction of the huts in which the deceased breathed his last are reflections of custom more than true expressions of grief." Nevertheless, he admits that "there really are persons who feel the loss very deeply." All doubt is removed by the conduct of parents whose child has been torn from them by death. Now and then they actually behave as though they had taken leave of their senses. According to Hyades (g):39 the "loss of children is in general deeply felt and often the French [of the Mission Scientifique] saw the features of the savages cloud over and the women even burst into weeping and lamentation if there happened to be a reference to such a death." Spegazzini's (a): 168 observation alone shows what every Fuegian mother goes through when she must part from the lifeless body of her child (51).

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51. He writes: "I have seen a young woman whose child had died take the corpse and go to the woods where the little body, cleaned and curiously painted, after having been pressed to her bosom several times, was wrapped in fox skins and enclosed in a framework of twigs, which she immediately buried under the leaves of a tree. Upon leaving she cast a look at the place where her little one was, one of those looks that would require a whole book to be explained and whose meaning could be appreciated only by a mother similarly stricken" /translated from Spanish/. Before that Fitz-Roy (a):179 had learned: "Matthews sometimes heard a great howling, or lamentation, about sun-rise in the morning; and upon asking Jemmy Button what occasioned this outcry, he could obtain no satisfactory answer; the boy only saying, 'people very sad, cry very much.' Upon one occasion when some canoes were alongside the 'Beagle,' a sudden howl from one of the Fuegians aroused several others who were near, and at the opposite side of the vessel, when a general howl of lamentation took place, which

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152 766

was ended by a low growling noise. By this, as well as by pulling their hair, and beating their breasts, while tears streamed down their faces, they evinced their sorrow for the fate of some friends who had perished, some days before the 'Beagle' 's arrival, by the upsetting of a loaded canoe" /cited in English/.

152 Parents in particular /1112/ lose control of themselves and make loud and bitter accusations against Watauineiwa, insult him, and swear revenge against him (p. 988). Sorrow breaks through unrestrained among these unspoiled children of nature. The first utterance always exceeds all bounds, but the grief continues to be deeply felt for months and years and sometimes flares up in its initial violence. "The mourning lasts long, sometimes for two years, but it gradually becomes less, till the memory of the dead passes from the mind" [illegible]ed in English/ (Bridges [a]:206).

164 152 While the dying person is still struggling with death, his nearest relatives are already weeping and howling. The strongest outburst of their grief begins after life has departed. Loud, shrill cries are uttered at short intervals, and it seems as though each one is intended to surpass the other. Mixed in with them are unrestrained howling and groaning by other persons. A loud and indescribable confusion of voices fills the little hut. The longer it lasts, the more neighbors hasten there, and none stays away. Everyone squats on the ground, and sometimes they sit pressed so closely together that they can scarcely move. Once I even saw them remove the hut fire because of lack of room. Everyone present wants to be as close to the body as possible, at least to be inside the hut. Long hours are filled with whimpering and sighing, howling and lamenting. While this is going on, a few men begin wrapping the corpse in pieces of leather. While it is being dragged out of the hut, the howling reaches its loudest and wildest pitch. The behavior of the persons present clearly shows their feeling that the deceased is now departing forever. They writhe with pain, throw themselves on the ground and get up again, wave their arms about wildly and full of despair, and clutch one another as though they would tear each other apart. This continues

/1112 cont./

764 for hours with tireless persistence, although the loud lamentations
• 152 increase and diminish. Meanwhile the corpse has been buried. If it is burned, the howling and crying does not by any means cease while this is going on.

No matter how the corpse has been removed, it is only under /1113/ the compulsion of complete exhaustion that the neighbors who are not close to the deceased inconspicuously leave. After the hut of the dead person has been destroyed by fire, his nearest relatives crowd in elsewhere. Here they continue their lamentation for many more hours, heedless of the night which has perhaps long since fallen. This stimulates the neighbors to resume their cries of lament. For at least 20 hours after the soul's departure there is never an interval of complete quiet; the greater or lesser tumult of voices continues without pause. Even on the second and third day those who are nearest to the deceased barely interrupt their howling now and then for brief pauses, and the other people often fall in with them for two or three hours. All this depends on the disposition of the individual and on a number of incalculable motives. Almost all the adults become quite perceptibly exhausted. As though crushed, as though overwhelmed by grief, everyone remains in his hut almost without interruption. Now and then a person goes to those who have been directly affected by the misfortune, remains near them at least two hours, and weeps with them, as is demanded by sympathetic concern, according to the ideas of our Fuegians. Out of the same consideration everyone must remain still and quiet, even at a considerable distance from the mourning family. Even children may not talk loudly or laugh.

765 For the first few days after a death has occurred all is very
152 quiet in the entire camp. It was simply impossible for me to get people in front of the phonograph and the camera during this brief period. They rejected all my urging, which they interpreted as a violation of their innermost feelings, with the decisive words: "We are now in mourning!" Thus they told me, curtly and clearly, that they were simply unavailable for other matters.

765 The custom of announcing a death without delay by means of
202 signal fires has been discussed (p.933). Three thick clouds of smoke are sent up close together, which are chiefly meant to call other families to come quickly and help the family that has been

/1120 cont./

765 and lamentations" /translated from French/. Bridges (MM:III, 119;1869) speaks of "long-continued mourning and incantation for the dead" /cited in English/. Earlier, Despard (VP:VIII, 179; 1861) reported: "Afternoon, Ookokko enlarged upon the many deaths that happen in 'my uncle country,' and then described some of the concomitants. Men come, many come, sing much. Hah yang how yi ya say. Hawa hya gya owaticca loopen wota weneewan...Cut face with finger nail, make blood rub over face, cut hair head top, put on red, make body here red, here black, white round legs, all same tie stocking. Cry much, water run down face, make lines in black, red. Our men cry very much" /cited in English/ (62).

> 62. Shortly before, in Beagle Channel, Despard (VP:VI, 111;1859) observed something similar: "We noticed one lady, with a face deepened to a fine black by charcoal, and were informed she was in mourning. Afterwards a wailing and a monotonous dirge proceeded from her ucer [hut], being her funeral wail for two men and a boy belonging to her family, who have recently died, somewhere along the Beagle Channel" /cited in English/.

765 ● 152 As I know from my own experience, the nearest relatives of the deceased avoid all distracting occupations during the first three or four days, and they remain almost constantly in the dwelling. This is the period of strictest mourning, which they spend in incessant lamentation and scarcely take any nourishment. Crouched by the fire, they weep and howl incessantly. With sad faces and mournful voices they repeat in a very simple rhythm a most monotonous melody with meaningless words, such as awáj awáj or óyojoj and others. When their agitation is great, their singing is louder and stronger; when they are exhausted, it subsides and becomes a monotonous murmur. Usually they move the upper part of the body gently back and forth or sideways with the rhythm. They roll their eyes, distort their faces, tear their hair, scratch slight wounds on their faces with their finger nails, and even throw

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765 152 themselves flat on the ground and for a time behave as though they were mad. This need not surprise one, for after their continuous exertion they finally lose all self-control and mental power. It is possible that /1121/ this strange behavior has caused a person in strict mourning to be called hannúšun, or hannuškipa. BD:265 explains this as: "A man, woman like a hámnuš, i.e., insane, senseless" /cited in English/.

The people from the neighboring huts join the strict mourners several times a day, not all at once, but irregularly and freely in individual groups. The latter are still vigorous, and they fall in with the singing of those present and stimulate them anew; hence the singing does not stop day or night. Even if all the families have left the scene of death after two to four days, the mourners soon begin their weeping again at the place where they erect their hut. They stimulate the new neighbors here to take part in their lamentation. At first they devote a great many hours to it, and fewer later on, but they continue it even after two and three years, although then only at longer intervals (63).

63. Hyades (q):379 agrees: "This great sorrow soon subsides; nevertheless the women nurse their grief for several months, repeating the scenes of tears and lamentations almost every day" /translated from French/.

It is customary to interject the well-known, ancient formulas of lament and the reproaches against Watayinéjwa into the singing (p.989). This is done not only by the nearest relatives, but also by friends and neighbors who happen to take part in this song of mourning. Everyone, of course, appears with one of the customary body paintings of mourning. It is the absolute duty of every adult Yamana to accompany for a few hours every day those mourners who are relieving their souls of grief through loud whimpering and groaning. This goes on day and night and arouses the sympathy of everyone in the neighboring huts.

If someone dies during a čiéxaus or kína and the participants hear of it, they, too, devote several days and many hours to the customary song of mourning. As Nelly Lawrence asserted, the 769 western Yamana customarily inserted a ceremony of mourning

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Fitz-Roy, as well as the missionaries, praise them for. One of the men accompanying Bove even sold the skeleton of his own father to which he addressed the following speech: 'Farewell, precious father! You who in life saw only our snow and our storms, now that you are dead are going far away. Farewell! May your journey be happy!'"

Today we shake our heads at the boldness with which such fantastic descriptions could be set forth a few decades ago. The Lawrence brothers to whom I showed the account absolutely declared it to be a bold invention. Finally one must keep in mind that Bove would never have accumulated his considerable collection of skeletons and skulls if it had not been furnished him from the mission cemetery. He does not maintain that the scattered, scarcely recognizable individual graves outside were ever pointed out and opened for him.

It is well known that they wipe out every trace indicating the site of a grave (p. 1053).

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A touching example of the sincerity of their grief for a deceased person exists from olden times. On November 27, 1958, Despard met a one-eyed man in Beagle Channel and inquired about the cause of his misfortune. The man answered that because of a deceased person dear to him he had wept so much that one of his eyes ran out. "Man die, here ashore, be very sorry, cry very much, eye ran away in water all over cheek; yes, sir!" /cited in English./ Our Fuegians never forget the loved ones whom death has taken from them.

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It is well known that the tálauwaja gives the Yamana a very welcome opportunity to unburden their souls of all that oppresses them. While the main body of those present carries the customary melody in its monotonous uniformity, this or that person interrupts with a more or less long discourse, speaking of things which at the moment happen to affect his feeling and his mood. He is usually quite excited by it, as is shown by his lively, agitated

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765 of skin with white down-feathers taken from
30 the male Molinas goose (Chloephaga hybrida
[825] /Kelp goose/). The people obtain this fore-
head decoration when these geese are nesting;
during this time /1131/ they are lean and the
thin skin does not have the abundant fat that
is present at other times. /Fig. 90 appears
here./ A hapakēl is like the kŏčel of the
Selk'nam (Vol. I, 215) in size and shape.
In recent times not all the adults make an
effort to obtain this ornament which is
actually seldom used. Instead, at a general
funeral ceremony, they use the narrow band
of skin with down, also called hapaxēl, which
they always have available and frequently use.

765 The club is part of the equipment of
293 those who take part in the so-called fight of
the yamalašemŏina. It is justifiably regarded
as an ornamental club. No one would be
permitted to come with a plain stick that he
has just picked up or one used to kill a sea
lion. This club is used for no other purpose.
It is carefully carved out of a flawless small
trunk, is about 160 to 190 centimeters long,
has an angular or rounded surface and gently
tapers from one end to the other (Fig. 90).
It is regularly painted white, or red if one is
commemorating a murder. Actually the
women should also provide themselves with
a club, but sometimes they do not have it
and make do with an ordinary paddle which
they paint. At the dances in the hut every-
one uses the short dance-staff carried during
the čiexaus ceremony, for it obviously helps
to emphasize the rhythmic movements of
the body.

765 The long-continued singing and
533 lamenting, sighing, and groaning are
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Fig. 90. Ornamental Club.

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765 essential to the yamalaśemṍina in connection with the lṍima.
533 The actual mourners spend their time this way in any case.
●152 Whenever neighbors and friends enter the hut with their freshly applied painting, they sit down near these mourners and follow their song. The polyphonic group sings in a medley of voices; each one chooses pitch and rhythm, melody, and tone color as he sees fit; he stops and begins anew as it pleases him. Each person's performance, however, is serious and sad, his facial expression shows great mental anguish, and his whole conduct indicates how much he is suffering. Throughout, everyone in a howling voice constantly repeats the same sounds in a monotonous melody, exactly as at the tā́lauwaja. The whole company devotes several hours to this collective demonstration of grief; they do not allow even brief general pauses.

765 Each person present occasionally interrupts his groaning and
781 fills in an interval or two with exclamations. These are chiefly
152 words addressed to the Supreme Being. One must remember that on these occasions everyone does not think merely of the recently deceased person -- who perhaps is even of secondary importance to him -- but of those loved ones whom he himself /1132/ lost through a recent death or an earlier one. The memory of them once more stirs him to the depths and makes him sharply feel anew his great loss. His own sorrow tortures him. That is why once again, as on earlier occasions, he confronts Watayinḗjwa to argue and remonstrate with him, to accuse him and cast aspersion upon him. He angrily hurls heavenward one after another of the ancient cries of lament, although he is well aware of his helplessness against Abā́jla up there behind the clouds. His immeasurable pain, so he believes, gives him the right to the ruthless, coarse invectives against that brutal Wḗlapatux who can be approached in no other way. These excited conversations with Watayinḗjwa, as I was emphatically assured, form an important part of the yamalaśemṍina. "Again and again each person must address 'the One-up-there' and must constantly repeat the old sayings!" I was told this several times with emphatic conviction. Thus I had the impression that the individual words were nothing more than a normal outcry and a quarrelsome discussion with the Supreme Being. Through all kinds of adaptations

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765 781 152 the expression may be used with reference to the recently deceased person, to the speaker himself, to his own deceased relatives and friends, to the Yamana people as a whole. With angry vehemence Gertie repeatedly impressed upon me: "Each one of us must incessantly and emphatically come to terms with Watayinéiwa on this occasion!" Thus reproaches and words of abuse continually alternated with the old cries of lament. Everyone present regarded this as justifiable for every speaker and approvingly confirmed his words.

Until that time I had never had an opportunity to observe how vehemently the expression of their deeply rooted faith in their god breaks out from the depths of their soul, and with what unrestrained force it seeks expression. Truly their religious faith is firmly anchored in their convictions and in their hearts! Here it became plain that all the adults are dominated by it. I shall now mention a touching feature of their childlike religious sense. In their greatest agitation they feel justified in freely hurling the bitterest reproaches against Watayinéiwa. After the yamalaiemóina is over, however, and everyone has again sought the quiet of his own hut and by late evening has regained his mental balance, he feels deep within himself something like qualms of conscience. He is overcome with the feeling that he has offended the Supreme Being with his raging and scolding and that he has erred greatly with respect to the veneration due the deity. Ruefully he humbles himself, silently he thinks about the events of the day and his momentary position. A repentant and yet confident prayer of atonement softly slips from his trembling lips: "Hidáhuan, you know it, today I was extremely angry with you! But the sorrow for my beloved dead was so violent that I lost control of myself. Don't be angry with me any longer, /1133/ Hidáhuan!" Solaced and with his soul fully at ease, the Fuegian lies down to sleep; the supreme emotion which for hours shook his innermost being is past.

765 152 I shall add here a few words which I noted during the yamalaiemóina. Often several persons were saying different things at the same time and I could not follow them.

Santiago: "This morning that woman died. Each of us is in a wretched state, no one feels well. I once suffered the same fate as that widower who now has no wife. I personally felt what

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it is like to lose one's relatives. One loses all desire to live!"

Halupens: "It is certainly just as you [Santiago] say: everyone who loses the person dearest to him feels [the sorrow] most acutely. The others feel it less, they are only accompanying that person! -- We must strive to understand each other well so that we shall not wrong one another. For one day Watayinéiwa will take us too [from the earth]. If we have lived in discord with someone and he dies, we will be sorry [for the way we behaved]. So let us live on the best terms with one another! After a quarrel everyone must quickly become reconciled with the other and make his peace with him."

Walter: "I, too, am thinking of the many whom I have lost. Today I feel somewhat relieved [at the thought] that it is not I who have lost his relative. But at the time when I lost my own children I was unutterably sad. Others probably thought it is not such a painful thing, but I spent whole days and nights in the forest and suffered terribly. -- How often Watayinéiwa has punished me! I wonder why he did it? Now we [I and my wife] have only two children left. It is possible that he will soon take another child from me. Why will that happen? I wonder if he will again punish me soon? I do not know. -- At that time I was really unutterably sad, more than other people can believe. Again and again that happened to me (68). Here on this occasion

68. He is referring to his sad fate that nine of his eleven children have died.

all who belong to the family of the deceased will properly understand how much I suffered at that time. In the same way I now understand what those relatives of the deceased woman are suffering and why they so loudly lament."

Mary: "I have little peace now, for during the time when we must again bury one of our people we come straight out with everything that our heart dictates."

Clara: "When I was still a girl, we did not conduct ourselves the way girls do nowadays. We did not leave our parents, but faithfully remained with them in the hut. But today girls often look to [the behavior of] the Whites, they have discovered

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many things among them which they imitate. That is why they even run /1134/ away from their own parents; they do not give other countrymen any peace [because of their offensive behavior] and cause their own parents the greatest embarrassment. It is shameful for us, it is a disgrace for us (69)!"

69. She recalls that recently three girls left the camp alone in the late afternoon without their parents' knowledge. Cf. p. 488 .

Santiago: "I did you [Halupens] no harm."

Halupens: "That is correct, and I did not want to reproach you for anything."

Santiago: "Good, then we agree."

Halupens: "If it weren't for the Whites [who prevent us], we would have declared war on those people and killed them. But this way [the way things are today] we do not dare."

Santiago: "Truly, that is the real reason. At present our hands are tied [as far as free action is concerned]" (70).

70. Santiago is referring to a murder which Halupens' brother committed in his day.

Luisa: "Whenever we were in mourning in the old days, we caught many animals and killed them, tore them all to pieces or crushed them, and then strewed all the pieces on the ground or threw them in the water. We did that because we were angry with Watapiláwa, for we wanted to cause him great harm. My parents-in-law were very prominent in that."

Halupens: "I had no idea that today I would be in deep mourning. Watapiláwa has caused it. I, personally, have, after all, done no one any harm; I did not kill anyone. I did, of course, kill a few birds and sea lions to keep me from hunger and to stay alive. But I never killed a human being. Therefore Watapiláwa has no reason whatever to hurt me so badly that today I am in mourning because he let that woman die. I did nothing except hunt a few of his animals which he made in Yámaiga. I consumed them because I was hungry!"

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765 152 Santiago: "Today Watauinẽ́jwa has brought great harm to us all. We are all without exception in deep mourning. It would have been better if today Watauinẽ́jwa had allowed a whale to be stranded. Then we would have gone there tomorrow and would have cut off large pieces for ourselves. Instead he has let that woman die and the widower is now mourning bitterly!"

Evidently all the participants at this yamalaĭemṍina often repeated the prayer formulas and lamentations listed above (p. 989), although most of them understand only the general drift and the basic meaning. I was present while the corpse was being wrapped, and old Asikansis happened to pass the hut. He stopped for a few moments and, pointing to the dead woman, murmured to himself: "Watauinẽ́jwa has caused that, yes 'the one-up-there' has done this!" Then he continued on his way. Similar expressions were repeated by all those present.

765 769 152 It must be pointed out that although this general funeral rite is stimulated by a recent death and occasioned chiefly by it, /1135/ nevertheless every participant remembers all the dead whom he personally mourns. He speaks of them loudly and openly, always without mentioning their names, distinguishing them as "my father," "my daughter," and so forth. He mentions details of their lives, certain traits of character, and the cause of death. In this way he thoroughly relieves his tortured soul of the misery of oppressive thoughts about his dead.

765 152 The gathering of many mourners, which lasts for hours, is regularly terminated with a sort of mock battle. All during the yamalaĭemṍina one or another of the old men informally and yet decisively exerts his influence, like a kind of tĭámuna. They are above all anxious to direct the attention of the participants to Watauinẽ́jwa, and they characterize him as the one who remains responsible for the death of this and every other person. They are familiar with the traditional prayer formulas and laments and often repeat them. In this way they also impress them upon the memory of the younger people who learn their meaning. The old people, however, never explain the meaning of the words in detail; the formulas simply issue from a grief-filled soul and are neither mentioned nor discussed in everyday life. As soon as the old people feel that the favorable moment has arrived, they call

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for the mock combat. The participants get up, reach for their clubs or paddles, and leave the hut. Sobbing and weeping loudly, they arrange themselves in two groups in an open place outside in no particular order. If the yamalaŕemõjna commemorates a recent murder, however, a more definite division is made, and the party of the victim and that of the murderer face each other. Each of the adults is equipped with a club; women who lack a club use their paddles (p. 1084). These objects have previously been painted.

While the two groups are slowly approaching each other, they sob loudly and speak of the deceased for whom the ceremony is being held. They mention his good characteristics and qualities in words of warm appreciation and sincere grief. These utterances cease as soon as the two groups meet. The mock battle immediately begins, with an individual from one side rushing at anyone in the other group and attacking him. The two large groups thus split up into many fighting pairs. Each pair continues to duel for some time. They do not intend to injure one another; hence a blow is checked before it falls. Nevertheless one person or another may receive quite a blow if a pair becomes excited or if two opponents who have many a former account to settle should happen to meet.

/1136/ A more important feature of this sham battle is the utterance of mutual reproaches, making the other person responsible for the death, as though he were to blame for the grief which depresses all the people. A person who is met with reproaches of this kind from his opponent defends himself just as vehemently and heaps the accusations back on the other. If one says, "You caused that one to die, it is your fault that we are all sad now!" then the other replies, "Quite the contrary, you are to blame for everything!" Or one will maintain, "Why didn't you pay more attention to that one [who has just died] and help him?" Whereupon his opponent will defend himself, "You're the one who should have helped him, then he would not have been taken from us!" Another will shout, "You did not give that one any of your booty and that is why he starved!" The retort is: "I always gave him plenty of our booty. If you had done the same he would have been spared us!" Elsewhere one hears: "Why did you not

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765 come to his aid with your canoe when he was drowning?" The
153 opponent replies: "I was much farther away from him than you,
578 I was on the Wollaston Islands. It was far easier for you to help
him because you were near him." Alluding to the murder, one
man says: "How could you be so carefree! You should have
known that this murderer had murderous intentions!" The answer:
"You are guiltier. For if you had an inkling of it it was up to
you to inform everybody and that one [the murdered one] would
have been spared!" The verbal exchange continues for a long
time. It often leads to attacks on personal conduct, to re-
minders of former quarrels and differences of opinion. Many be-
come excited, and the combatants seriously attack each other.
For some of them this opportunity is very welcome because a
long-suppressed desire for revenge can be gratified without
punishment. There is great confusion during the battle and
sometimes a certain amount of brutality, depending on how much
tempers are aroused, for the opponents facing each other change
about several times, or three or four persons will pounce upon a
single one who is then in a serious predicament. After about an
hour the combat is declared over when a few influential old
people return to the assembly hut. The rest of the people follow.

765 Inside, the customary song of mourning is resumed and
633 continues for a time, its duration depending on the hour of the
535 day and the state of mind of those present. One person or an-
other will get up and dance through the hut, following the sim-
ple rhythm of the song with his body movements and the gentle
swing of the short dance-staff. Finally the yamalaferdjua is
concluded, following the clear, definite signal by one of the
leading old people that all the participants should lay down their
clubs, paddles, and dance staffs with an audible tap on the
ground. While the singing was going on, /1137/ all the people
were holding these things in their hands. After that each one
spends long minutes in thoughtful concentration, and only then
does he silently creep out. He goes to his dwelling and quietly
resumes his ordinary tasks.

765 This affair regularly lasts eight hours and longer. Only the
adults take part. In order to prevent any disturbance or distrac-
tion by their own or by strange children, none of the children